1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

"the best speaker in the town." The two offices may sometimes have been combined, but it is evident that they were usually distinct.

In Tukabahchee and all of those towns of which the ancient organization has been preserved, either in the memories of the Indians or in fact, there were three general classes of war officials. The highest were the tàstánágálgi, the next in rank the imala łákâ'lgi, or "big imalas," and the third the imala łábotskálgi or "little imalas." At Tukabahchee, and probably in the greater number of towns, the tàstánágis sat at the western end of the north bed, but, as I have shown elsewhere, their position varied, and sometimes the tàstánágis and imalas were seated in different beds. The Tukabahchee arrangement is given by Hawkins as that in Kasihta in his time. He does not indeed give the Indian names of the various grades of warriors but he states that there were three of them and that promotion was regular from lowest to highest. In most towns the tàstánágis and imalas received their positions on account of warlike feats, not because of ancestry or clan connection. One of my informants said that a tàstánági was a man who "carried out the determinations of the town." The leader of the tàstánágis was usually known as the tàstánági łáko, "big warrior," and Hawkins states that he was selected from among the tàstánágis by the miko and isti àtcagági.[36] According to the same writer the highest title to which a warrior could aspire was that of "Great Leader" (Is-te-puc-cau-chau thlucco [isti pákatca łáko]), which required "a long course of years and great and numerous successes in war." The head warrior of Tukabahchee was known as the Tàstánági simiabaiya.[36] He was privileged to call the whole town together. According to a Coweta informant, in his town the tàstánágis were elected by the head men of the town from the Red clans, but, although it is probable that, on account of the theory regarding them, more warriors would arise from the Red than from the White clans, they were certainly not drawn exclusively from such clans. These officials all had to do with war and with the ball game which is called "the brother of the war." War, while decided upon in council, was announced by the Big Warrior. According to a Coweta informant ball games were arranged by the Big Warriors of the towns concerned, each taking such assistants as he desired, but in Kasihta there was a special official, the halisi tàstánági, who attended to such matters. The Tàstánágis were also the native police, the Big Warrior being "chief of police"; they carried out the decisions of the miko and the isti àtcagágis, and they punished any one who

FIG. 102.—Face painting used by the Tuskegee Indians. The spots in solid black represent red; the cross-hatched spots green

[36] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 70.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

624 625 failed to obey the laws and regulations of the council or who failed to attend the annual busk. When matters of great importance were to be discussed they were called over to the Chiefs' bed to take part in the deliberations; on other occasions matters were sent over to them to be ferreted out.

As happened with the henihas, the functions of the tástánagis became much altered in later times, and in many Seminole towns there was but one tástánagi, who took the places of the old yatika and chief's heniha. In Tuskegee they seem to have supplanted both the subordinate mikos and the isti átcagagi as counsellors to the chief. Speck says that they "formed the chief's council which decided matters of public importance," and that they "were the actual potentates of the town in affairs of war or in its relations with other tribes.[38] They also acted as a local police, and executed the sentences imposed upon criminals by the local courts established after the removal to Oklahoma. This, however, was really a continuation of their duties as police officers for the old council of chiefs.

624 •701 Milfort speaks of the "tastanégy" as if he were the head war chief of the entire Creek Nation, but ordinarily there does not appear to have been a permanent official of this kind. Nevertheless what he has to say of this official is probably applicable to the tástánagi łáko of each town:

"His mission consisted in directing all of the war operations, in taking all measures necessary to revenge an injury inflicted on the nation and in defending its rights. He was invested with authority sufficient for this purpose; but this authority, which made him the first sentinel of the state, the father and the buckler of the motherland, lasted only so long as the danger; once peace was reestablished and the troops returned into the bosom of the nation, he again became a plain citizen, and was only the first soldier. If he had not given occasion for any complaint during the exercise of his authority, he always preserved the right to resume his post on the first necessity; and for that same purpose he was charged with the duty of watching over the public safety continually, and informing the peace chiefs of injuries inflicted on the nation, or matters which might disturb its tranquillity."[39]

624 701 796 Milfort's description of the ceremonial to which he claims that he was subjected when he was made tástánagi is also worth reproducing. As above stated, the position which he assigns to himself was altogether superior to that of an ordinary tástánagi, but under McGillivray many innovations were introduced into the Creek political organization, and a head warrior for the entire nation may have been one of them. Whether Milfort actually went through such a

[38] Speck, in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 112. [39] Milfort, Voy., pp. 286-288.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

624 701 [493] 716

ceremony or not, all of the features of it which he gives are true to aboriginal Creek life and must have been learned from observation if not from experience. It is of particular interest to notice that the use of a litter for principal personages seems to have been preserved until nearly the end of the eighteenth century. Probably it had survived ceremonially long after it had been supplanted in other ways by the horse.

Milfort's account is as follows:

"A part of the assembly repaired to my house; and, when all had arrived, one of the old men made me ascend a kind of litter covered with a bear skin, surrounded with garlands of ivy leaves, and borne by four band chiefs. When I was placed on this litter, they set forward to return to the grand cabin. The following order of march was observed.

"Many young warriors, each bearing in his hand an eagle tail fastened to a stick, marched on, dancing, making contortions, and uttering terrifying cries. They were preceded by a master of ceremonies, who had in his hand a coconut attached to a stick, in which seeds were enclosed, so that he could beat time by shaking it. He had moreover at his side a young savage who accompanied him on a kind of tabor. In front, behind, and on each side of my litter, marched old band chiefs, each of whom also bore in his hands an eagle tail, part of which was painted red. Last came six priests or medicine men, who had on their shoulders two deer skins after the style of a chasuble, the hairs of which had been preserved, and who carried in one hand a swan's wing, and in the other the plant which is used in making the war medicine which is taken during this ceremony.[40]

"When we approached the grand cabin, the procession halted; a priest then came to meet us accompanied by two young warriors, each of whom bore a great gourd with an opening above large enough to insert the hand. These gourds were painted red, and contained water, in which had been put the juice of the plant of which I have just spoken. This priest stopped about twenty paces from us, and there, dipping his hands into this water, he made an aspersion, singing a hymn or invocation to the genius of war. When he was through, all of the chiefs who were awaiting us in the grand cabin, set out to meet us, marching six abreast. When they had gotten near this priest, they dipped their hands into these same gourds, and moistened their faces; then the six priests who were behind me advanced to them, and with one hand placed the herb which they held on their faces, and with the other passed the swans' wings over them as if to wipe it off. As soon as the chiefs had undergone this ceremony they returned to the cabin; and, when they had all

[40] Evidently the fat.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

624
•701
796

entered, the six priests or medicine men resumed their places behind my litter, and we all repaired there together. The old man who had placed me on the litter, came at once to help me descend, and placed me on a bison skin which had been prepared for this purpose. Then the whole assembly drank the cassine or the tea-like drink, and for twenty-four hours they took nothing but the war medicine.

"I had not yet drunk this medicine although I had been made a little war chief and I had commanded in the place of the grand chief, because I had taken care to make for myself a particular medicine; for it is indispensable to have one in order to be assured of the confidence of the savages; but this time it was necessary to imitate the assembly, and drink the general medicine. I was not long in experiencing a strong feeling of sickness, which forced me to eject all of the medicine I had taken, and to imitate the assembly in that. This very disgusting ceremony lasted until sunrise next day. Then the entire assembly undressed, and we went, absolutely naked, into a circular cabin where the priests had gone to await us. Each of them had brought thither a brass kettle, in which they had had the war medicine boiled. Shortly afterward the subordinate chiefs brought stones which they had heated red hot in the fire in the center; and the priests, while singing, threw upon them the water which was contained in the two gourds of which I have already sopken which occasioned a dreadful heat and steam. The entire assembly was in a very profuse perspiration, and it was so great on all parts of my body that, although I was very healthy, I thought that it would be impossible to resist it. We remained in this condition about half an hour, and then part of the chiefs went out of the cabin, the priests surrounded me, and we all left and went immediately to throw ourselves into a river a short distance from the cabin. It was not without much fear that I decided to imitate the entire assembly in that; it appeared to me very dangerous in the perspiring condition in which I then was to throw myself at once into the cold water; but it was impossible for me to do otherwise, and I suffered nothing more than the fear (j'en fus quitte pour la peur). I think, however, that the purgation which I had undergone in drinking the war medicine, prevented the ill effects of such a bath. On going out of the water, where we remained only a short time, each one dressed himself, and we returned to the grand cabin, in which a magnificent repast awaited us. The young people then had permission to enter the square in the grand cabin, to dance around the fire, which burned continually during the entire period of this ceremony, lasting three days, during which no member of the assembly was allowed to go outside of the compass of the square, or to sleep. I was so much the more under obligations to remain there with the assembly, as it was for me alone that the ceremony took place.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

624
701
796

"I was seated in a distinguished place, and I had priests on both sides; if I happened to get drowsy, one threw fresh water in my face, and the other rubbed it with little stones, which he had taken care to put into some water beside me for this purpose.

"The three days having elapsed I was conducted home in the same manner as had been observed in bringing me to the grand cabin. When we arrived there the oldest chief proclaimed my appointment, and informed me that I was now the first sentinel of the nation, at whose voice all of the young warriors were prepared to march; that the ordeals through which I had just passed, had for their object to make me understand that nothing must cause my zeal to relax, and that I must bear with equal courage cold, heat, and hunger, in order to defend the interests of the nation. When the old man had finished the assembly broke up, and each person returned to his home."[a]

624

The imalas were of course of less importance; in the progressive decline of Creek institutions few towns have retained them, and many people have forgotten there ever was such a class of officials. By one informant an imala was described as "a man whose advice was worth receiving anywhere." I was told that at Tukabahchee the big imalas were called into council by the Chiefs along with the tástánágis on rare occasions, but this was never done in the case of the little imalas. Nevertheless a question might be referred from the town council to the tástánágis to be considered by them and all of the imalas in a separate council: The imalas acted in general as assistants and messengers for the tástánágis, and performed the smaller services.

624
701

Below the imalas were the tásikayálgi. This word is now used in the general sense of "citizens" but it means "warriors" and originally designated the common warriors, those who had received busk names but as yet had done nothing to merit further promotion. Hawkins says of them: "The second class of warriors [he treats the tástánágis and imalas as one class] is the Tusse-ki-ul-gee. All who go to war, and are in company, when a scalp is taken, get a war name. The leader reports their conduct, and they receive a name accordingly. This is the Tus-se-ki-o-chif-co, or *war name.*"[b] It would seem, therefore, that the name tásikayálgi applied to all those in the fourth bed and that tásikayálgi intupa might very well be a synonym for tcibánágálgi intupa, "youths' bed," the term usually given to it nowadays. As a matter of fact I find it used for that very bed by the Nuyaka Indians.

624

There is one other class of officials to be noted and this an important one, but a class which has fallen so much into abeyance

[a] Milfort, Voy., pp. 220-228. [b] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 70.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

726 final conclusion of the chiefs is announced to the assembled body of the chiefs and warriors by the orator explaining to them and the assembly the reasons why they are justified in a declaration of war, before they make a descent on their enemy. On a day appointed they assemble at their town house square in complete armour all stript and painted red, black, and white as they go into action with their guns on their shoulders, their knife and tomahawk hanging to their side and war club stuck in their belt. . . . They all take their seats as they come. When assembled the man who is honored to be the town leader rises and takes his stand in the square where he raises the sacred war whoop and begins to sing and dance in the circle and as the rest rise they raise the same whoop and drop in behind the other; in a very little time their singing and dancing, is drowned by one eternal whooping and firing of guns. When they are assembled on their way to their enemy at the appointed rendezvous they hold a general war dance in the same way as described above.

"'I will try to return to the former subject. After a declaration of war and before they commence hostilities they proceed to gathering every man, woman, and child belonging to the nation to their respective town and relations, let them be far or near. After they have collected all their kindred, they are ready to commence hositlities on the enemy. Then if one of the other nation is seen by them he is certainly destroyed; their petty wars are wars of extermination. They commence by small parties on venture, not man against man but tribe against tribe. It is a praiseworthy action for a man or a party of men to kill the women and children of their enemy, more so than to kill a man, who is frequently in the forest, whereas to kill a woman shews evidently that he [the slayer] was not afraid to go into his enemy's country but achieved the manly deed in their very house door and escaped." [23]

726 622 701 The following statement from Hawkins gives an excellent idea of the voluntary character of war parties, and the relation of the war to the civil chiefs. War "is always determined on by the Great Warrior [i. e. the Tástánagi łáko]. When the Micco and counsellors are of opinion that the town has been injured, he lifts the war hatchet against the nation which has injured them. But as soon as it is taken up, the Micco and counsellors may interpose, and by their prudent councils, stop it, and proceed to adjust the misunderstanding by negotiation. If the Great Warrior persists and goes out, he is followed by all who are for war. It is seldom a town is unanimous, the nation never is; and within the memory of the oldest man among them, it is not recollected, that more than one half the nation have

[23] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., pp. 34-35.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

been for war at the same time; or taken, as they express it, the war talk.

"The Great Warrior, when he marches, gives notice where he shall encamp, and sets out sometimes with one or two only. He fires off his gun and sets up the war whoop. This is repeated by all who follow him, and they are sometimes for one or two nights marching off." [33]

Regarding the fasts which preceded such expeditions the same writer says:

"When young men are going to war, they go into a hothouse of the town made for the purpose, and remain there for four days. They drink the Mic-co-ho-yon-e-jau [miko hoyanidja] and the pos-sau [pasa], and they eat the Sou-watch-cau [sawatcka].[34] The fourth day, they come out, have their bundle ready, and march. This bundle or knapsack, is an old blanket, some parched corn flour, and leather to patch their moccasins. They have in their shot bags, a charm, a protection against all ills, called the war physic, composed of chit-to gab-by[35] and Is-te-pau-pau,[36] the bones of the snake and lion.

"The tradition of this physic is, that in old times, the lion, (Is-te-pau-pau,) devoured their people. They dug a pit and caught him in it, just after he had killed one of their people. They covered him with lightwood knots, burnt him, and reserved his bones.

"The snake was in the water, the old people sung and he showed himself. They sung again, and he showed himself a little out of the water. The third time he showed his horns, and they cut one; again he showed himself a fourth time, and they cut off the other horn. A piece of these horns and of the bones of the lion, is the great way physic." [37]

Considerable discredit has been cast upon Milfort by his pronounced egotism and the evident exaggerations introduced into his version of the migration legend of the Creeks, also by the picture of unity in the Creek confederacy which he presents. There are internal evidences of reliability about much of his information, however, and it must be remembered that his acquaintance with the confederacy was during the period of McGillivray's dictatorship when centralization of authority was at its height. I therefore believe that considerable value attaches to the following information; at least it gives us nearly all we know about the conduct of military operations in which

[33] Hawkins, Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 72.
[34] Cf. Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Ass'n., vol. II, p. 118.
[35] This is intended for teito yabi, "horned snake." The Creek chief Chicota told Doctor Gatschet that this medicine was used in hunting, not in war, but such customs change from decade to decade.
[36] Istî papa, "person eater."
[37] Hawkins, op. cit., pp. 79-80.

1; Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

726 army. He always has a great number of scouts in advance and behind, so that the army is very seldom surprised. On the other hand the savages wage a war of surprise on Europeans, and it is very dangerous for those who do not understand it." [43]

727 554 703 "These peoples, although endowed with a very warlike spirit, live very quietly and do not trouble their neighbors; but, when an enemy compels them to gather and take up arms, they do not return home without having fought, and having taken scalps from them; which may be compared to banners among European troops. When a Moskoqui has killed his enemy, he carries off his entire scalp, and it is a token very honorable for him, when he returns to the nation. You would be surprised at the skill and the swiftness with which they take off the skin of the head of a man whom they have killed. These scalps are not all of the same value; they are classified, and it is for the chiefs, as witnesses of noble actions, to pronounce on the merit of each of them. It is on the basis of the number and merit of these scalps that advancement takes place, as well in civil as in military affairs. Here I am going to give the reader an idea of the value which the Creeks place on carrying away the scalps of their enemies.

"The greater number of savage nations of North America took almost no prisoners of war; when, by chance, they did take some, they burned them or made them die in the most cruel torments after they had returned home. It was a feast day both for the victim and the executioners; the latter rejoiced at destroying an enemy of their country, and the former at dying for his. As it was a great honor for a warrior to kill many of his country's enemies, each pretended to have killed the most. At the period when I arrived among the Creeks, it was necessary, in order to occupy any place at all, to have carried away at least seven enemy scalps. A young Creek who, having been at war, did not bring back at least one scalp, always bore the name of his mother,[44] and he was not able to get a wife. . . .

"When a young warrior brings back a scalp for the first time, the chief and the warriors of the place where he lives, assemble in the great cabin in order to give him a name, and to take from him that of his mother. It is usually the chiefs who judge of the value of a scalp, based upon the dangers which have been gone through in order to carry it off; and they are, as I have said above, titles of advancement and consideration.

● 701 726 "At the moment of combat the head chief usually stations himself in the center of the army. He distributes the reserves wherever the danger seems to him most pressing; and, when he perceives that his army is faltering and he fears lest it give way before the efforts of the enemy, he advances in person and engages in hand to hand

[43] Milfort, Mém., pp. 217–219.

[44] Milfort means his childhood name, taken from the list of names belonging to his mother's clan. See Swan's remarks, pp. 436–437.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

combat. A cry, repeated to left and right, informs all of the warriors of the danger to which their chief is exposed. Immediately all of the bodies of reserves unite and march to the place where the head chief is in order to compel the enemy to leave him; if he is dead they would all die rather than abandon his body to the enemy without having carried off his scalp. They attach such honour to the loss of this scalp that, when the danger is too great, and they are unable, in spite of all their efforts, to prevent it from falling into the hands of the enemy, the warrior who is nearest to the chief kills him himself, removes his scalp, and takes to flight uttering a cry which is known only to savages, and repairs at once to the place which had been indicated by this same chief whither they should retire in case they were beaten. All of the under chiefs, informed by this cry of the death of the head chief, prepare to retreat; and as soon as it [the retreat] is brought about, before taking any other measure, they proceed to the nomination of a new head war chief in order that the enemy may not perceive the loss of the first which they have suffered.[45]

Bartram speaks of a "royal standard" made of the tail feathers of the *Vultur sacra*, "which is called by a name signifying the eagle's tail." "This," he goes on to say, "they carry with them when they go to battle, but then it is painted with a zone of red within the brown tips; and in peaceable negotiations it is displayed new, clean, and white; this standard is held most sacred by them on all occasions, and is constructed and ornamented with great ingenuity. These birds seldom appear but when the deserts [i. e., uninhabited areas] are set on fire (which happens almost every day throughout the year, in some part or other, by the Indians, for the purpose of rousing the game, as also by lightning)."[46]

This can only have been the calumet, which was often detached from the pipe and borne about separately. It is not mentioned by the other writers as an article carried along by a war party, unless Adair has it in mind when he says that the Muskogee "had exchanged their bloody tomohawks, and red and black painted swans wings, a strong emblem of blood and death, in confirmation of their offensive and defensive treaty."[47] It may be that their swan-feather crowns were painted and worn in war but he nowhere so says. He mentions the war pipes, however, to which the tribal beaus used to fasten fawns' trotters, small pieces of tinkling metal, or wild turkey-cock spurs "with the addition of a piece of an enemy's scalp with a tuft of long hair hanging down from the middle of the stem, each of them painted red: and they still observe that old custom, only they choose bell-buttons, to give a greater sound."[48]

[45] Milfort, Mém., pp. 249-254.
[46] Bartram, Travels, pp. 149-150.
[47] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 382.
[48] Ibid., pp. 6-7

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

726 302 Red and black are well known as war colors down to the present day. Milfort states that the Creeks painted their bodies all over when going to war[a] but my own informants mentioned only the face and breast. Half of the face is said to have been painted red and half black, the first for war and the warpath, the second for the death that was to be dealt at the end of the warpath. Before being applied these paints were conjured in the usual Creek manner—i. e., the medicine man repeated a formula over them and blew into them through a reed. Mr. Grayson has told me that during the Civil War, when the Creeks enlisted in the Confederate army were about to go into action, the Indian doctor who was with them, who was in fact my informant Jackson Lewis, smeared a mixture of red paint and charcoal upon the cheeks and breasts of the Indians, and made a sign like a cross upon them. This last may have been an idea borrowed from Catholic priests. The red paint and charcoal were evidently a survival of the red and black paints of olden times. After the fight he made them bathe in a creek, and then drink some water and throw it up again.

726 789 Besides the feathers already mentioned I am told that the crow feather was anciently the great feather among the Creeks used principally in war. It probably signified death, but it was conjured over when a party was on the warpath in order to put the enemy into a sound sleep. To conteract this influence the feathers of the blue jay were used. Eagle and sparrow-hawk feathers might be employed in war, but the principal is said to have been the crow feather as mentioned above. The feathers of the white crane signified peace. A formula or song, known as ina hĭta, was sung by a warrior just before he went into battle. This was to preserve him from harm.

● 701 Jackson Lewis asserted that war leaders were taken only from men who had passed through the period of training described in the section on education, which was undertaken in periods of from 4 to 12 days and involved the acquirement of numerous incantations and medical practices.[aa] They could not, however, be graduates of White clans, and it is evident that they must also be men who had attained distinction in previous warlike enterprises. From the same authority I also obtained the following account of Creek war officers.

The highest of these officers, the one who had particular charge of the war interests of the town, was called hobayi mi'ko, "far-away-chief," and he is probably identical with the man usually known as tástánagi láko. He was the man who declared war. Next in command was the hobayutci, "little-far-away." Third came the tástánák hobayi, "far-away-warrior," fourth the tástánákutci, "little warrior," fifth the lihomāhti or "trailer," and sixth the lĭhomahtūtci, or "little trailer." These two last were

[a] Milfort, Mém., pp. 33-34.

[aa] See p. 367 and also pp. 617-620 in the second paper of this volume.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

scouts whose duties were to determine whither the enemy had gone. Seventh and lastly there was an officer known as the minkiso or inki'su, who looked after the supplies—i. e., he was the head of the commissary department. If another tribe had committed some depredation the sufferers would send runners out who uttered a peculiar whoop, and when this was heard the people would meet at some designated spot and these officers would put themselves at their head. Or if some young men desired to go out after scalps they would signify their desire and these officers would head them.

As it seems unlikely that so many officers would go out at the same time in order to satisfy the thirst for glory of one or two youths, we are probably to understand that this represents the complete quota of officers for a party of some size. That the leader of every party was ordinarily called hobayi seems to be established by the testimony of Adair[50] and Jackson Lewis. Adair states that he was a kind of temporary war priest, and Jackson Lewis, as above stated, declared that he was always selected from among those men who had received the training of a doctor.[51] Doctor Speck's informant, it will be noticed, distinguishes the hobayi or "hobáya" from the war leader ("*imísi*"), and lays particular emphasis on the religious functions of the former. He is described as "a shaman and prophet," as "a busy man in battle," who "besides carrying the fetishes and administering the emetic . . . had to sing and shout certain songs and formulas which would frighten and confuse the enemy."[52] It is possible that, while the war leader was normally a hobayi, one who had received a doctor's training, there were exceptions, and that, in such cases, for reasons that we can well appreciate, it was thought necessary that a hobayi accompany the expedition. This would account very satisfactorily for the discrepancies between Doctor Speck's description of a war party and the others.

It will be remembered that Bartram, in his account of the chunkey yard, speaks of two "slave posts" to which captives were tied when they were to be tortured and burned to death.[53] It is doubtful whether the number and position of these was very definite. They are still faintly remembered by some of the old Indians and are said to have been in the shape of war clubs (atasa). It is also recalled that they tied grass about the bodies of the captives and set it on fire. As in the case of the Chickasaw, older captives were usually burned at the stake, and the younger ones adopted unless they had been devoted in advance.

---

[50] See p. 411. Mr. McCombs says that only the mikо ranked higher.
[51] See p. 436.
[52] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 118.
[53] See p. 175.

[For the seating of warriors in square grounds, see category 621]

?